1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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as a surprise. To guard against witchcraft red *rewa* (*rewandamu*) and horse taro are planted on the borders of the field. In Lomaloma *lata* is planted against "raw eyes"; if a person with "raw eyes" sees yams they will not grow well.

A yam field should not be visited after rain, the reason being if legs or hands touch the leaves when wet, they will become *karatha* because water remains in yam leaves. Leaves, when *karatha*, look burnt, fade, and drop.

The crop depends on the weather. If there is too much rain the ground is cold so that the yams do not penetrate far. If there is sunshine till Christmas the interior of the pit is warm and the yams do well. If there is a prolonged drought, yams that are planted early do not come to much because the sun eats up their strength; the yams planted later retain their strength.

When Orion is in the west the yams are mature. Early yams come in in January if there is plenty of rain; but they are few. As the last year's stock is exhausted the young men are sometimes sent to the fields in January to get immature yams for feasts. They dig them up when the bottom is still white, cut it off, leaving about one hand's length and cover up the heads again; these heads produce long yams that very same season. This process is called *vakarete*. The bulk of the crop comes in about March and April, months known as digging months (*vula ikelikeli*). First yams for immediate needs are dug. When the yams have definitely ceased growing they are stored in little huts next to the plantation and called *lolo*.

Sometimes yams are planted two years running in the same field. This is called *lothi*. In that case they must be planted in June or July. They do not yield much. Usually yams are succeeded by sweet potatoes, bananas, or some other crop. Sometimes bananas are planted in a field of yams immediately after the yams have been put in; being small, the trees do not injure the yams. After sweet potatoes or other crops the land is allowed to lie fallow (*voavoa*).

Wild yams are called *tikau* and are eaten, except the poisonous kind.

Sweet yams (*Dioscurea aculeata*) are called *kawai*. They are not planted in Lakemba and are not esteemed. They are abundant in the bush and people sometimes come from the Southern Islands and beg leave to dig them up. They are generally fibrous and not to be compared to those cultivated.

Taro Planting

Taro is not planted on so large a scale as are yams, but is more esteemed. Only wet taro fields are cultivated in Lau, and these by irrigation along the streams. Such land is called *solove*. Swiftly running streams are most

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226 against the glare and set out with a big rectangular net provided with floats at the top and weights below. The net is put down with a curve facing the land. Some of the women, aided by any men in the party drive in the fish. The women at the net pick the fish out of the meshes, bite the heads, and put the fish in their baskets.

A variation of this method of fishing is called hauling (*yavi*): the net is put down in a semicircle with its ends resting on the beach, and is then drawn in. I believe this is done only at high tide. There must be no coral about. Special large nets called hauling nets are used; they are modern and made with European fish line.

Native informants say:

[175] It is bad to go to a grave before fishing, or the fish will go up to the net and turn back because the souls of the dead want to fish; for going to the grave has a supernatural effect (*manata*); the souls follow the one who went to the grave.

[174] "Raw eyes" drive away fish. To remove the effects of it before going into the water, nets are held as they are in the sea and whipped lightly on one side, then on the other several times with leaves of *sinu;* then the leaves are thrown into the net, it is raised and drawn in as is done at sea when fish have been caught. The operation *sinumi* is then repeated in the water, with the words:

Sinu matumatu, sinu nggitawa,
sinu vai [naming all kinds of fish]
sinu ika tauthoko sa rawa i na mba
lako mai i manda, lako mai i muri,
lako mai loma, lako mai sau, lako mai
tauthoko mai thoka i ei.

Sinu . . . . . .
sinu of all fish that are caught in the fence,
come before, come behind, come inside, come
outside, come all of you and strike here.

Then the leaves are thrown away and care is taken not to raise the net as was done on shore. It is forbidden, while fishing, to point at the fish. The [164] biggest *sangga* and the best fish are taken to the *Roko Sau.*

Yavi Rau

An entire village joins in the *yavi rau* (hauling in coconut leaves). In this the fish are brought to shore as with the large nets, but for the net a long rope of *walai,* as much as a half mile in length is substituted. The sides of the midribs of coconut leaves are stripped off with the folioles adhering and are wound spirally round this rope with the folioles sticking out like spikes. At high tide this rope is put in the water to form a vast circle. As the tide lowers, the men draw the circle tighter and tighter towards the shore leaving an opening on the land side which the women close with a net bag-shaped (*volu*). Outside the circle, the women stand with small nets to catch the fish that try to escape. The men close in upon the fish, which circle round and round and are driven into the net. When the net is full, it is folded over, and sticks are thrust through it to lift it up and put it into a canoe. It is opened in front of Big House, or if the Chief

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881 was provided by Nasangalan, and one sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) provided by the ladies of Tumbou, all of which were taken to the native medical practitioner who performed the operation.

573 834 After circumcision a boy ceases to sleep in the family house (*vale soso*), but lives in a men's house (*mbure*). He must not henceforth let women see his penis. In old times young men did not put on a loin cloth or have intercourse with women till they had pubic hairs and beards. Circumcision was the occasion of their putting on clothes.

884 After circumcision a boy is called a man (*tangane*) and must be grown up in his ways; he must not cry, but endure and work.

Confinement of Girls

881 Formerly when the daughter of a nobleman was about fifteen to seventeen she was "forbidden the sunshine" (*tambu singa*), while remaining [302] indoors she was anointed with oil and turmeric (*rerenge*) to make her light in hue and plump, to make her into a lady (*vakamaramataki*). She ate feasts, meat, or fish (*kana vaka i lava*) every day. She remained in the upper end of the house and might not come out into the center. Food was brought and left in the house; if anyone appeared while she was eating [754] she retreated into a corner so as not to be seen, lest a person with "raw eyes" should see her and make her of a bad color. She hid only if a new person came into the house; those who stayed in the house remained continuously and did not go home. She might bathe while forbidden the sunshine, but in doing so wrapped herself up (*pupulou*) that the sun might not spoil her body; if she met anyone she hid in the bush. At night she might not go out except for a call of nature.

The following account has been given:

> Melaia was thus confined along with Andimaitonga, her father's elder brother's daughter. She was very young then and had her hair cut. The object of the confinement was that she should fill out quickly. Samisone Feoko, her father's younger brother's son was born then so Melaia went to stay with the mother of the child and all four were anointed together with turmeric, the mother, the child, and the girls. This was a common practice, and the girls came out at the baptism. If the daughter 611 of Roko Sau was forbidden the sunshine a daughter of Tui Tumbou or the herald would be confined with her. Roko Sau's daughter would order them about. The various families of the girls would bring food.
>
> Some confinements lasted a year. Melaia did not find it dull; she and her companions played with dolls (*vakataluluve*), which consisted of a whale's tooth, or 85 cowry, or stick, and were laid down like a baby; but the early missionaries forbade 797 dolls so they are not used now. Some children did not like to stop in the house all day, and so ran away. The old people would be angry, but the girl would not be forbidden the sunshine again.

When their period was over the girls would go to bathe in the sea, were dressed in the best bark cloth, and people might come and see them. The

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776 own remedy because the spirit is sitting there at the foot of the plant; he
755 is not embodied in it.
757 The term *kalou* of the remedy which was used of prohibited food is also used in spiritualistic medicines of the spirit connected with the medicine. Thus a man who saw a white dog in a dream after treatment for possession, told his Tongan leech who said, "It is the spirit of my remedy."

It was not known why the ancient remedies are efficacious (*mana*). One man supposed they were given to black countries because they are not clever. Possibly God gave them to Fiji.

Remedies are generally concealed: it is hard for a man to tell his because some remedies are efficacious only merely taken inwardly. In other cases a man may take the remedy yet it does not work, because it is a thing of old times, the proper remedy of the owner. Even in this case, however, the names of the leaves are often concealed, and no reason could be given, except by one man who said the remedy would fail (*ndai*) if many knew.

In order to impart a remedy one wise woman would rub the palm of the pupil, who would then be able to treat the disease.

WITCHCRAFT

● 754 Withcraft is included in the term *wai* (water) which also means medicine, treatment. It is also called *ndraundrau* or called *ndrau ni kau* (leaves), a term evidently from Viti Levu as the Lauan would be *ndra ni kathu*. Another term is *sausau* (pricking).

Vola declares that all witchcraft on the coast can in the end be traced to the hill tribes. Mba, on the western coast of Viti Levu, is especially considered to be the home of witchcraft. The Windward Islands, Mualevu and the Moala Islands, but especially Matuku, have a reputation for witchcraft.

It is most difficult to learn of evidences of witchcraft, as even intimate acquaintances will not bring the possessors of charms to confess. They are ashamed, both because it is bad and because it is forbidden by Government. Men have been killed even under British rule for practising witchcraft. One informant says that of old there were charms (*i sausau*) in every coconut grove; now it is a secret; another, however, says that of old few people knew. They may both be right; charms to protect property may have been considered legitimate; others may have been considered wrong. It is asserted that at the present day all witches have perished, because if a man was suspected he was made to kiss the Bible and if guilty, he perished. However, when three big noblemen died in quick succession, witchcraft was suspected and Ratu Finau compelled the whole island, even little children, to take an oath on the Bible that they knew no witchcraft; those who confessed had to swear that they would never use it again.

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The general methods of witchcraft are familiar to all, even children. Remnants of food are used "because some parts are left, and some go down the stomach." It is said asthma can be caused by burying a man's spittle. A man will split a reed, stick it in a garden and hang bits of clothes on it "in order that that disease may come and settle on it."

A man from Matuku had learned from Kandavu Island a charm, and told it to me:

The man speaks to the spirit of the charm (*wai*) and then carries out the witchcraft. He prepared the leaves and lays them down before putting them into a pit, and speaks to the spirit: "These are the leaves for .....; please go straight and kill him." The *kalou* or spirit is his great-grandfather (it is usual to call on the great-grandfather), it is by him the charm is made effective. The leaves consist of a creeper, 16 leaves of bitter *sinu*, and the sea creature called *utiutitaloko*, along with the remnants of a man's food, tobacco, his clothes or his cup. The owner buries the charm and runs seawards, not returning to his garden for four nights. The spirit turns the man towards the pit; but any man who passes over it dies, even if he is a kinsman of the owner. After four nights he pierces the spot, which steams upward.

The disease affects the arms, legs, and belly, the body swells, and the victim becomes restless; it is just as though he were with child.

The owner of this malicious charm learned from the same Kandavu man a method of detecting witchcraft. It is called *vakata* (causing to bite). The man described it as follows:

This must be carried out before sunrise, because the kava has to be made before sunrise, for it is forbidden to meet anyone while divining. With the thumb and forefinger he plucks with alternate hands two stems of the small plant, *totondro*. He lays them before him and with the corresponding hand plucks off the leaves: he may not use the right hand on the left stem or vice versa. He makes two sets of four leaves each, folds them, and picks up one between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, the other in the same way with the left. He says, "I want to know about my kinsman, whether he is well or ill; if he is ill, let it sting me." Or else, "You twins, here, I wish to divine [*vakata*] for So-and-so. I want to know about my kinsman; be gracious and make effective my charm"; or "there is the kava of my kinsman; I want to know ....." He then chews the right hand set; if the kinsman is ill it will sting; if in health it will not sting. *Totondro* is a most insipid plant and stings only in divination. You may mention anything, such as witchcraft or cricket, then chew; it will not sting if your team is to lose. If a man wants to find a leaf he will point in all directions; it will sting when he points to the right one. The left hand is for confirmation (*i vakandinandina*). When the divination is over, the kava is poured away; no one drinks. The bathing consists in bathing in the sea, in washing hands and feet.

This charm has a spirit, the Twins (*koirau a ndrua*). They are goddesses. The charm (*vakata*) is just like my child: whenever kava is made at meetings I pour out a little of the first cup at the foot of the wall or elsewhere, and I drink the remainder. At the end of his demonstration I presented him with a mat and bark cloth and he said, "My power is gone. The charm is departed from me; you have taken it; the token thereof is the gift. If I want to carry it out it will not work. My charm is over for me; I shall not carry it out again; this gift is the end of it; now it will be useful to you till your death."

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787 Though used for various purposes, this method of divination seems to be
754 specially connected with witchcraft, for a Mualevu boy once remarked that *totondro* was used for witchcraft and that four leaves are bitten for divination.

755 The remedy for the witchcraft just described is a potion strained from
754 eight leaves of *walai* and eight of *sasanggilo;* the patient drinks on four days and recovers at once. No prayer is said to the spirit before using the remedy. During the four days these things are tapu: coconuts, fermented coconut, sea water. After four nights the patient bathes.

Various Kinds of Witchcraft

754 A Lakemban learned the following method of witchcraft called the pin (*i thula*) from a Totoyan:

> Four bits of wood [species unknown] about an inch long; stick into the footprint, allowing them to project slightly; any part of the foot can be pricked by driving the sticks into the corresponding part of the footprint. If the sun is in the west the witch must see that his shadow does not fall on the footprint. The man whose footprint is pricked gets pain and cries day and night. If the witch wishes him to die he drives the stick in; then the leg becomes painful; if people find out in time who caused the pain, they call that man to effect a cure. The refresher (*i vakandranu*), as the cure is called, consists in leaves which are chewed and used as a lotion. Only the man who made the witchcraft can execise it. Sometimes if a woman rejects a man's advances he will anoint a reed and prick her footstep, taking care to be on the lee side of the reed.

There are flying charms (*i sausau vuka*), so called because reeds are planted which fly to anyone who goes that way. Nothing is done to the reeds; it is called an empty charm (*i sausau lala*) because no leaves or ointment are used. This is sometimes done where taro is stolen. The disease arises in the belly or the knees. A flying charm may affect anyone even if he is not stealing, so if a man sees an empty charm he knocks it down. The men of old left their yam stores open; anyone who went to eat died of witchcraft.

The disease called "*sau* of the hills" is said to be caused by a kind of lemon which was formerly used as soap. It is put to float on the water and if a man touches it he gets the disease.

'Emosi knows only straight charms (*wai*) and not those tortuous ones like witchcraft; but he has heard of an ancient Fijian way of killing which belonged to Narova of Mathuata. It is called "bake his faeces" (*vavi a ndena*).

> If anyone enters my house or quarrels about anything, I will keep watching him; I watch him at the place where he stools. When he stands up I go and collect his faeces and place them on leaves of *langakaliolewakalou*. I take a young branch of

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screwpine, strip it of leaves, cut off the soft parts, scrape, gouge it to remove the heart. I then heat a stone, take it and cast it inside the screwpine; I next take the rubbish and cast it inside the screwpine; I close the screwpine and say, "You spirit (*kalou*); I shut up the rubbish of So-and-so." I carry it to some muddy spot and leave it there. I then set up a stick where the rubbish lies; that end is turned to leeward. Then the stone works on his rubbish and the leaves, and it steams up. I stand up and leave to its own devices the steam from the heat of the stone. His belly begins to swell within an hour, it may be. The hole in the screwpine gets filled with water, and that is why the belly swells. Excreta are used because some parts come from the body and some are left. The *kalou* of the charm are spirits in the bush, native spirits, foreign spirits, those that are spirits, those that are prayed to." 754

Of old, anyone who had a pain in a joint could pick some grass called *sila*, make a knot in it, and beat the painful part, saying:

Motu mbula, motu mbula; Beat without killing, beat without killing;
A ona ka muri mai ka tauva. Let it infect him who follows.

The grass was left across the path and if anyone stepped over it, the disease jumped upon him. The disease thought to be thus imparted devours the bones, the hands are contracted, there are rigors. It was said to attack the patient in the morning when the land-breeze comes down. A certain man is said to know the cure:

Chop leaves, add water, heat it, and rub the leg. The leaves are thrown into the sea, for if they were left on the beach and anyone went there in the early morning, it would infect him. Tapu: taro, red food, coconuts, oil, and cold; it is tapu to look towards the sea to the place where the surf breaks on the sand or the body will hurt much. [755]

This cure was passed down from father to son.

If the man who has been bewitched dies, the witch must pierce the body within four nights of the death or he will himself die. The grave is sometimes guarded for four nights to prevent the witch piercing the body.

Some people get charms (*i sausau*) from Viti Levu, but do them wrongly and die in consequence. There was one such occurrance in Yandrana.

A Lakemban Tongan was of opinion that the man who knows the cure for witchcraft also knows the witchcraft itself, or as he put it, he who knows how it refresh, knows how to kill.

A refresher from Thakombia used for conjunctivitis caused by witchcraft was given as follows:

Take four leaves of a plant [name unknown]; two to eat, and two to bathe (*sui*) the eyes. Those for the lotion are chewed and spat into a Tahitian chestnut leaf and held over the eye so that the juice drips into it. This gives relief. It is done four times on each eye twice a day for four days, after which the patient bathes. Tapu: to use a banana leaf or sere leaf as plate. [755]

When the owner of the refresher slept after treating a kinswoman a man came: "I saw him in the Underworld (Mbulu). They call that a

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754 dream. He stood to attention and said, 'After three nights her eyes will recover.' It was a soul; I don't know whose."

Tongan Witchcraft

Tonga is said to be a land of powerful witchcraft. It is also said that no European physician can cure a Tongan disease; on the other hand, it is said that Tongans are afraid of Fijian witchcraft, and should even a child in the house feign to do witchcraft, a Tongan, even though he be a person of quality, will walk out.

In a form of Tongan witchcraft called *fokotuu tapu* (to set up a tapu) leaves are prepared to infect (*manati*) those who come and take without leave. In Tonga it is hereditary. The difference between Tongan and Fijian witchcraft is that the Fijian charm is buried, while the Tongan is hung up, formerly where everyone could see it.

A Lauan learned from a Tongan how to cause *fulumingi*, a disease in which the penis is pierced and the urine comes out at the sides (another informant says it occurs about the anus and calls it piles).

Chew four leaves of *seasea*, four of *vue*, four of *molau*, four of *kura;* mix them with turmeric, wrap in a bit of bark cloth, and hang up wherever you choose.

A Tongan will mention the name of all the leaves and then ask the spirit of the charm (*kalou ni wai*) to be gracious and make the charm effective (*mana*). Who the spirit (*kalou*) is the informant could not tell. The Christian God is now prayed to to make it effective. When the charm is removed it may not be thrown into the sea, or the owner will get piles. The owner must himself put it into a dark place, where the sun does not shine, or he will get piles. The refresher is as follows:

Two twigs of the plant used for the witchcraft; these are scraped a little, and water is added; it is used for dabbing. Tapu: pig, dishes prepared with oil, scented oil, sea water.

Other Tongan forms are *kulakula*, which is quick to take effect, but is not always effective. *Lolokumete* can be produced in the same way.

Witchcraft on Fishing and Gardens

From Naiau come the following witchcraft for the sea:

If women are going along the beach, to fish, the owner of the charm comes along secretly in the bush and taking a reed one and a half fathoms long, he rubs the point and the whole length with four leaves of *wacusowuso* turned alternately tip to stem. When the women are all in the water he secretly throws it at the back of the last one; she must not feel the reed or she will look back and the charm will not act. He then turns away and may not look back. The effect is that no fish will be caught.

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Witchcraft on plantations is called the destroying of gardens (*i vakatha ni teitei*). 754

Take leaves of pig's hoof in any number, and black ants from a grave; rub on a reed point and cast at a garden and turn away. If the yams sprout finely till the soil is hidden with leaves, yet when it is dug up there will be no tuber. The charm is effective, owing to the ant from the grave.

The counter charm is called a refresher or bather, as is as follows:

Place five or six fruits of *kaile* in pairs in a row; chop them with a knife and bury them in four holes. No words are spoken; there are no spirits. The bathing consists in going to the sea. The refresher of the crops is thus: eight leaves of *walai*, and scrapings from a stem of *i vombo* are used for "washing the crops"; an infusion (*vusoi*) is made in a cup and a libation (*sevuka*) is made in the garden by sprinkling it at the bottom of the plantation. This is used for any crops.

Another remedy is to infuse leaves of *tokatolu* for washing off witchery.

DEATH

Dying or fainting is expressed by *thimba*. A man who is unconscious 763
is said not to perceive his soul.

A dying man is dressed in a shirt and white kilt. Of old if he was a nobleman the house would be filled with his train. As the dying man's eyeballs begin to turn upwards the people press down the eyelids. This is called *vakandromuthi* (cause to set).

Of old they sometimes called back the soul (*yalo*): "Tiosese, eh! come back, come back." This was termed *kathi yalo*, calling the soul. Some came to life again.

Not until the man is dead do they wail. I once was present at the death 763
of a child: there was not a tear or a sob. As soon as the child had expired 565
the body was brought out to be photographed, it was then wrapped in oiled bark cloth; then the wailing began as if by word of command. The wailing of the women is loud and vehement, "Woe is me! my child!"[25] The men wail, but in low tones. Only the close relatives wail in the house upon the death of a nobleman. A noble youth then comes and blows a conch, and the wailing ceases, though weeping may be done quietly. The conch is blown that it may wail. A nobleman who wants to wail does it by blowing a conch. It is tapu to wail; only the conches may wail. For a Tui Naiau of old there were ten to thirty conches which were blown without ceasing day and night, the men relieving one another until the burial. For Ratu Finau's little daughter three or four conches were blown inside the house; heard from outside the dissonance of the low toned conches produced a

[25] *A i valu na luvenggu. A i valu* means war; it has become an exclamation of distress.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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643 then when Ndranivia usurped he seized the state-basket in which were the treasures of the land.

The title Sau occurs in the expression *sautu*, peace, prosperity.

MEDICINE

753 171 The group of diseases called by names of animals are the most transparent. The same diseases, octopus and snake, are found in Eddystone, Solomon Islands; there the animal is a spirit that abides in the person and causes the trouble. In Samoa if a man ate the incarnation of his own particular god, that god "was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body and causing to generate there the very thing he had eaten" (15, p. 17).

753 262 In Lau, the octopus disease may be contracted by eating octopus, and the patient is not allowed to eat octopus. However the Lauans may deny it then, it can be confidently asserted that the food tapu to a patient is called "the spirit of the cure," because the spirit which causes and cures the disease abides in it, and therefore it may not be eaten. Samoa has preserved the theory; Lau has lost it.

757 754 177 In Lau, most cures exist apart from the art of producing them; but it was held that those who knew how to cure the effects of witchcraft also knew how to kill. That reverts to a state of things found in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands, where every cure is part of a system consisting of: (a) charm to produce the disease in whomever steals the fruit of a tree; (b) removal of that charm; (c) cure of the disease. It appears to have been much the same of old in Lau, since Semi says that then they had charms in every grove of coconut palms. But whereas in Lau the charms were buried, in Eddystone they are hung on trees or sticks, as was done in Tonga.

TRIBAL ANIMAL

776 Thekena, Waitambu, and Vakano call their children rats. Thekena and Waitambu say it is because of the jealousy of the Two Ladies who will not allow any but their own children to be called children; but the Vakano people are nearer the truth when they say it is by reason of their rat-god. It would seem then as if these people formerly identified themselves with their god.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Death of a young man

764 A Namuka boy, 21 years old, was visiting in Nggalinggali, Kambara, where his sister had married into the noble Naivotavota clan, when he broke his toe and contracted tetanus. The natives thought the stiffening of the body due to sorcery. On the eighth day his relatives realized that he was going to die, so they moved him from the small house where he had been lying into a large house belonging to Naivotavota. The boy died the following morning.

When I arrived about noon the village was under a tabu of silence. If anyone laughed or sang he had to pay a fine of property or food. The body of the deceased, with hands folded over the chest, lay on a couch (*vata*) 30 cm. high parallel to the main axis at the upper end of the house. It was resting on a piece of Tongan tapa, placed over fine mats bordered with bright wool. The deceased was dressed in a shirt and kilt of cloth and covered with Tongan tapa. On this lay white oiled tapa. Over the head was a piece of white oiled tapa and a wreath. The upper part of the house was separated from the lower by a large piece of tapa, hanging from the ceiling to within 2 meters of the floor. Six young girls, relatives of the deceased, sat or lay near the bed, weeping silently, and fanning the body and themselves. They wore no special mourning clothing. Older women, wearing black kilts covered with old mats, sat along the walls toward the center of the house. Occasionally a man or woman entered and presented gifts of mats, tapa, cloth, and kava. Before they presented their gifts ceremonially, close relatives kissed the hand of the deceased by placing it against the nose and inhaling. Gifts of cloth and tapa were placed over the body.

Soon the young women, a few old ones, and one or two youths began to wail. The wailing had begun after the death but had been discontinued for a few hours in the middle of the day. It reached a climax when the body was being wrapped for burial in fine tapa and new mats, tied with sennit, and moved out of the house. The wailers beat their foreheads and the walls and house posts with their fists. Four men lifted the large mat on which the body lay, carried it through the door at the upper end of the house, and placed it on a stretcher made of rough boughs tied with sennit which resembled a ladder. The stretcher was carried to the cemetery shoulder high, by six men chosen for their strength. Behind the body walked the native missionary and two or three older men. Most of the women followed, those of high rank leading. While the procession moved to the cemetery the formal death beat used for all funerals was repeated slowly six times on the village gongs. It sounded first on one pair, then on another pair of different pitch at the other end of the village, as shown in figure 4, *b*.

The close female relatives remained in the village and continued to wail, but during the funeral ceremony they arrived, silently, one by one, at the grave, knelt by the body and buried their faces in the mat wrapped around it. The native missionary conducted a twenty-minute Christian funeral service in the Mbauan dialect. The body was lowered into a grave, 3 meters long, 1.3 meters wide, and 1.6 meters deep, by means of the large outer mats, and the sennit fastenings were untied. Three handfuls of sand were tossed into the grave, then beach sand from a dozen freshly made coconut-leaf baskets was poured into it. Finally, the sand which had been dug out of the grave was shoveled back and a mound was formed over it and covered with beach sand brought in the same baskets by young women. No children and no young men except the pall bearers attended the burial ceremony.

On the afternoon of the following day the death feast (*i mburua ni mate*) was held. Food was provided and prepared by the relatives of the deceased and eaten by the village. For two nights after the death a group of women watchers (*tonitoni*) slept in the house (*vale ni tangi*) where the death had occurred. Early on the morning of the third day the watchers lifted the tabu on noise by beating the *vakataratara* (fig. 4, *a*) on a tapa board. They bathed in the sea and fished for the first time since the death. A small feast called *vakataratara* was provided them by the relatives of the deceased. On the tenth day a

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423 On our first visit to one of the Kambaran villages the natives
754 were suspicious because they had heard that we wanted to take away their land and build a sawmill to export hardwood. This they feared because the land titles had not yet been established by the lands commission. One night most of the inhabitants of the village crowded into my native house. About midnight when they had all left, we noticed through the darkness two men (whom we recognized as two high ranking persons in the village) a few yards from the house. They were describing a circle on the ground. When they disappeared we examined the spot and found a piece of pandanus, knotted in the form of a cross, lying in the center of the circle. We found the pandanus had been extracted from the mat on which we had been sitting.

754 The next night, when the natives had again assembled in the house, we showed the pandanus and asked what it was. Suddenly there was a silence. The dark faces became serious and frightened. Finally a hereditary carpenter, who had been educated for the ministry in a mission school, said: "It's a bad trick." The two men had been so afraid of losing the land that they had practised black magic on us.

754 Since the practise of witchcraft is forbidden by the native
431 regulations the whole village was upset, and the next day the
621 natives ceremonially presented to us a large sea turtle, weighing over 150 pounds, in atonement. This was the most valuable gift they could give. We returned with the turtle, lying on its back so that it was helpless, aboard our canoe to Tokalau, whereupon Tokalau, not to be outdone by its rival, immediately presented us with a still larger turtle.

423 Jealousy over land titles reached its highest point regarding
578 the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. This island with its rich timber and garden land, fishing and turtle breeding grounds, is claimed by a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu. A noble clan (Vuanikathu) of Tokalau also claims the west side of the island, but acknowledges the Tanggu

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her!' A burst of laughter from the spectators, in which the husband outlaughed the whole, followed this remark. The treatment was most successful. The woman's pride was so strong that she at once sat up, assuring us that the god had gone away, and that she needed no more medicine."[59]

A patient on the verge of death can be restored to health if his soul, which has wandered away from his body, can be captured by a specialist in soul-catching, and returned to his body. Once Sienga of Lomatchi, a young unmarried woman, was very ill. Kama, the doctor, gave her medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*) but she grew worse. Then the doctor decided to try to catch her soul. He cut the tender new shoot from the center of a banana tree in the garden land. He took the shoot to the bush, unfolded it slightly, stood it on the ground and let it fall. Then he picked it up and set out in the direction toward which the shoot had fallen. Suddenly the doctor saw the girl's soul which he said looked just like the girl, seated and leaning against a tree. Since she faced him he knew she could be captured. If the soul had been facing the tree he would have known that he could not capture her and the patient would die. Standing in front of the soul, he pointed the banana shoot toward her and the soul entered the shoot. The doctor carried the shoot with its heavy burden on his shoulder to Lomatchi. When he reached the village he stood the shoot on the ground and let it fall in the direction of the patient's house so that the soul could escape and enter the house. When the shoot became lighter in weight he knew the soul had left it. He went to the patient and gave her another dose of medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*). The patient felt better immediately and he knew her soul had re-entered her body. After a few weeks the girl recovered completely.

Certain types of illness such as strokes, paralysis, internal swellings, and prolonged pains are attributed to sorcery

[59] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 120. (ndraunikau).

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754 (*ndraunikau*). Sorcery is not so common in Lau as in some other parts of Fiji. The sorcerer secures some of his victim's "dirt"—a lock of hair or a piece of his *lavalava*—and places it in the pointed end of a young, empty coconut shell. The shell is buried in the ground with the pointed end toward the victim's house. The victim then sickens and often dies in a very short time.

754 757 278 The illness of Tchiope, an old man of Tokalau, was thought to have been caused by sorcery. Tchiope was suffering from paralysis of one side of the body. The doctor gave him medicine against sorcery (called *ravulevu*). It is taken twice a day before meals. The bark and green leaves of a tree, [824] called *ravulevu* (*Symplocos spicata*), are ground on a stone and wrapped in a small bag of white barkcloth. The bag is steeped and squeezed in cold water and the infusion is drunk. Bark shavings from the same tree, mixed with a little coconut oil, are then rubbed over the body. The patient, however, failed gradually and died.

753 According to informants the smell of a dead body (called *tangaloa*)[60] may cause three kinds of illness; leprosy, external sores with a bad smell, and internal sores. To protect the [764] mourners against this illness a corpse is usually buried within three hours of death.

As has been pointed out, illness in Lau may also be caused by the infraction of a tabu. Not all sickness, however, is attributed to superhuman agents. Normal labor pains and ailments like rheumatism, boils, and misplaced uterus are believed to be due to natural causes and are treated with natural rather than supernatural methods—by means of herbs internally and externally administered, by massage, manipulation and diet.

757 278 Boils are considered the most common sickness. Kama

[60] Informants know of no deity called *tangaloa* like that of neighboring parts of [171] Polynesia. I found no other meaning for the word.

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being one of the most common, as the Polynesian Lauan—true to type—is by nature more light-fingered than his semi-Papuan brother of Fiji.

I asked the man what he saw; and, seating himself cross-legged in the attitude of respect, he politely answered, "It is nothing, sir, I was but thinking of Filipi, a man formerly of my town."

"And what about Filipi? What did he do?" I inquired.

"He is dead," he answered, looking down at the deck.

Knowing from the man's attitude that there was something behind all this I asked him freely to tell me all. No one enjoys "spinning a yarn" more than a South Sea islander when he really gets started, and many interesting old legends, and, incidentally, helpful facts in my work, have I picked up in this way on some of my lengthy sea-journeys about the group.

"It was this way, sir," he began. "It was said that *dua na vakadraudrau ca* (some evil magic) was performed at that place there," pointing with his chin—the same gesture his Malayan ancestors had used thousands of years before—at the little bay we were passing. "I know nothing of it myself," he hastily added. "It is only what I have heard, and it happened years ago, just before you, sir, first came to Lau. Now, Filipi and a man of Nayau Island were doing

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some weeding for the Chief of Lomaloma, on his plantation here, at this place called Takaniu. It was said that Filipi was well versed in magic, which, of course, is a forbidden thing, and which, as you know, sir, none of us natives believe in nowadays."

I nodded and tried to look as credulous as I could.

"But it happened," he went on, "that the man of Nayau was also a *taukei* (past-master) in that sort of work. Now, whether due to the heat of the sun or whether some sickness caught them, or what it was I don't know, but they were angry with each other on that day; and when they rested for their mid-day meal a great dispute arose between them, and their talk ran upon magic. Then he of Nayau looked at Filipi and said slowly to him, 'There is one thing that I truly know, Filipi, and that is that my magic is more powerful than yours.'

"'Your talk is but lying talk,' retorted Filipi. 'It is well known that we of Daku town are very strong in this thing—a thing that our forefathers have taught us, and no one can surpass us in this matter.'

"'*Sa vinaka*' (so be it), replied the Nayau man; and he grew very angry then. 'Here are food-scraps from your meal and food-scraps from mine. We will each take the other's away

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*539 ● 754 and see in very truth whose is the stronger magic.'

"Now, Filipi did not quite like this; but he was too *madua* (ashamed) to withdraw his words, so he answered, 'Let it be so,' and making a palm leaf basket he gathered up the food-scraps left by the other and went off to Daku, the Nayau man retiring to a hut just above the beach there.

"Now, you must know, sir, that the way of it is this: One takes some little thing that belonged to one's enemy, such as a bit of his hair, or his nail parings, or a bit of his clothing, or scraps left from his meal, and after certain workings with these in secret one takes them and buries them under the house, or, perhaps, in the thatch of the roof, of the man he hates."

"And what are the secret workings," I asked, with assumed indifference; for I had long been anxious to know how it was carried on, and had I asked judicially in Court I should never have known in a month of Sundays, whereas in this casual way it was possible that it might be disclosed. "Truly it will be a most useful thing to me when I get back to my own land," I added jokingly.

He grinned, showing a magnificent set of white teeth, in contrast to the smooth brown skin of his face. "But this magic cannot affect you white chiefs," he said, laughing, "for you

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eat different sort of food from us natives. That is the reason. It is well known that some evil-minded person tried thus to kill the magistrate's clerk,[1] when the British Government first came here in the times of our fathers, but it availed not.

"The way of working it is this," he added, "though, of course, it is only what I have been told. He who wishes to perform this magic must first prepare himself in certain ways. He must keep away from the sea, and must have a small fire continually smouldering on his hearth for four days, and the flame of this must never die out during that time. He must also abstain from eating certain foods, and especially the two fish known as *matumatu* and *volo*, for should he eat of these his magic will strike back upon himself. (And here, sir, is a sure test to find out a worker of these evil deeds. For, as you know, we natives always sit round our meals together, and should we be having fish boiled up with herbs the rich broth is first of all handed round in coco-nut shell cups, and we drink this before the women turn the fish out on to the leaf plates in our midst. Now, a worker of this evil magic dare not drink the soup until he knows of what sort the fish is, so he will abstain, and make some excuse, and thus there will be great suspicion cast

[1] Mr. H. L. Tripp.

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upon him.) And having prepared all things he next takes the scraps that I have spoken of before and mixes them up with the juices of certain plants, secretly and at night. Then he takes a bottle or a gourd or a short piece of hollow bamboo, and thrusts the mess inside; and as he does so he whispers into it the name of the person he wishes to kill, and then at once stops up the neck of the vessel with a plug of coco-nut leaves and fibre, and takes it away and conceals it at his enemy's house. And just before dawn on the fourth day he goes to purify himself in the sea, and from that time the magic starts to take effect. And so it was with these two. On the fourth day Filipi became unwell, and on the seventh day he died.

"Now, you must know that it is a most necessary thing to set the evil free from the body of the dead man before a further four days shall elapse, or once more it will surely fall back again upon him who caused the evil. So that one must take a spear or a sharp stake and transfix the dead body, or else one dies oneself. But the Nayau man had not thought his magic would act so quickly, and had not made inquiries, so that it was over three days before he heard of Filipi's death, for Daku is at the other end of the island. Very troubled in his mind he set off at once to the house of the chief of Lomaloma—which, again,

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is at the front of the island, across the hills— pretending to be going there to help mourn for Filipi. And that night he went out, no one knew where; but on being called for some purpose by the chief, he could not be found. And in the morning he was asked where he had been, but he would only say that he had not been outside the compound, but had slept in a small shed by the yam-house all through the night. But one could see that his spirit was heavy within him, and there was something pressing down on his soul. He went back, indeed, to the plantation, but the next day he lay down in his hut, and from there he was carried into the town, but nothing could do him any good, and he was dead within a week.

"That was a bad affair, sir," he went on, shaking his head. "Before he died he confessed the whole thing, and he told the people that he had gone over to Daku on that last night in the dark to find the grave of Filipi. But he was a stranger there, and he did not dare to ask for the grave to be pointed out to him. And having seen a mound which he thought was the one, he had thrust a stake deep down into it, and then waited behind the trees till daylight. When the dawn came he found to his dismay that it was an old grave which he had *suaka'd* (pierced); and there was the new grave, not far off, too late now to pierce,

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for the four nights were past. It was the worst case that had happened since the evil Lord Turuku had in like manner slain the Ravunisa in the early days of the government."

"What was that?" I said. I had heard some rumour of this old tragedy before, but I thought I might glean some fresh information about it from this man.

"I know nothing of that, sir," he replied. "I was but an infant at the time. But I have heard that it is all written in the great books at the Court House. The only thing I know is that the name of that Ravunisa was Ratu Mudu."

When I returned to head-quarters I looked up some of the dusty old books of record at my office, and discovered in one (containing reports for the year 1881) a full account of the happenings at the death of the Ravunisa of that time. It appears that there were two great families or clans at Lomaloma (the capital of the Lau Islands) dating from very early times, called the Galà people and the Buca people. A third clan, called Na Turuku, lived on the borders of the same town, but though strong and important were always regarded as "outside the pale," and not quite as belonging to Lomaloma. The heads of the two inner tribes of Galà and Buca bore the hereditary titles of the "Ravunisa" and the "Rasau" respectively. The head of the Na Turuku

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people was merely called "Tui Na Turuku" (Chief of Na Turuku). For some generations back there had existed a barely concealed rivalry between Galà and Na Turuku; but although Galà considered themselves the more chiefly people, Na Turuku had one great point in their favour—*the hereditary priest had to come from a certain family in their tribe*, and the priest-caste dealt in magic and other awe-inspiring matters!

So it came about that Ratu Mudu (lit., "cut off suddenly," a most prophetic name, had his parents only known it) was one day stricken ill with some mysterious complaint, and told his relatives that he knew he was doomed to die. Now, this was a most serious matter, as only one generation earlier it would have meant a large strangling of widows and other savage ceremonies for the death of so great a chief; and even now it was a matter that would convulse the whole island. And to make matters worse the Ravunisa said that he was convinced he had been bewitched (*vakadraudrau'd*).

The next day a message was sent to the Magistrate that the Ravunisa was dead! The Magistrate hastened to the house, where all the mourners were assembled, and a crowd outside, and he found the Ravunisa laid out in state, but still convulsively moving under the funeral cloth! In the eyes of the people, according to ancient

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custom, he *was* dead, because he was "as good as dead."[1] But he lingered on for another day, in a semi-comatose condition, and died on September 13, 1881, having refused to be sent to hospital "as he knew it was hopeless."

He was given a great funeral, and for four nights all his followers slept in a solid ring round his grave, with some of them doing sentry-go up and down all night, armed with axes and clubs. They were determined that the worker of the witchcraft should not be able to *suaka* the grave.

His brother, the heir-apparent, Jioti Sugusugu by name, was away on the day of the death, but immediately he returned he gave orders for all trees and shrubs to be cut away for a good distance in the vicinity of the grave, to give no chance of concealment to anyone. And Tui Na Turuku was kept under close but secret observation all through the critical period. He actually visited the Magistrate (Charles R. Swayne, C.M.G.) and asked him to remove the grave-guard "as it hurt his feelings," but Mr. Swayne very wisely refused, as that would have only cast still further suspicion at the time on Tui Na Turuku, without giving any certain proof of crime.

Nothing further happened at *that* time, but it

[1] Curiously enough, much the same thing happened about the present Tui Na Turuku, an old man of about seventy-five, only a month ago. I was told that he was at death's door; and on going to see him I found him laid out in his grave-clothes! But I gave him some simple medicines and I saw him only a few days ago amusing himself by vigorously digging in his garden.

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afterwards transpired that Tui Na Turuku had, with two men called Bavatu and Vili, been tried by the Government of Maafu (the Tongan conqueror of Lau, who handed over his kingdom to England when Fiji became a Crown Colony) fifteen years previously for "killing a man by *vakadraudrau* at Cicia Island," and that Bavatu had been found guilty and executed; and further, that Vili on his death-bed in exile at Levuka had acknowledged that he had been the cause of several deaths by *vakadraudrau* at Lomaloma. And further, that since that time Tui Na Turuku had been under strong suspicion of being the cause of the death of a man named Livai at Lomaloma, through whose body a stake was found pierced after death! The people dismantled and removed Livai's house, and found a small vessel, containing the ingredients mixed with a piece of Livai's clothing, buried under the doorway of the house.

In a case happening within recent years it is said that the suspicious relatives shrewdly placed a sheet of iron under a thin layer of earth covering the grave, and that the murderer, on trying to spear the grave, was so upset by the mysterious power that broke his spear that he was turned insane. But this happened before I came to Lau, and I can find no authentic record of it.

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754 It is, however, firmly believed that my predecessor's cook, who rejoiced in the name of Apukuki, was *vakadraudrau'd* to death by his wife, Bale, in a fit of jealousy over his "strayings from the straight path" among the beauties of the village; and a former sergeant of police, named Josateki, is thought to have only escaped by a miracle by the prompt use of antidotes.

But at the same time the would-be wielder of *vakadraudrau* has apparently by no means an easy task. First of all the victim must be either a Lauan or a Fijian. As I mentioned before, [829] [262] white men "eat different food" (which, to a native, accounts for all their idiosyncrasies, and for all the differences of mentality, physique, and habit). "Even the Tongan natives are not affected by it"; and, in fact, their laughing at the folly of it has done as much good as anything towards eradicating it in the Lau Islands. About 175 754 1870, during the Government of Maafu, a Lomaloma man professed to be able to discover and remove *vakadraudrau*. He went to a suspected house at dawn, and first carefully bathed his arms, [786] face, and chest with a certain protective liquid, after which he fell into an inspired frenzy, and was told by his god where to search. Awakening, he thrust his arm into the thatch and triumphantly withdrew a bottle of fluid, which in great awe he poured solemnly into a basin near by, warning

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the bystanders that a spot of it touching them meant instant death. Mafi, the local Tongan magistrate, a man of great force of character, promptly rinsed his hands in the fluid, and the other Tongans followed suit, with much laughter, covering the crestfallen priest with confusion. But Mafi then, with the rough-and-ready justice of those days, had the man trussed round and round with about fifty coils of rope and laid out for twelve hours in the sun, telling him to keep the flies and insects away by his powerful magic!

But even this did not entirely put a stop to the practice, as the people promptly invented the theory that Tongans were immune. In fact, this was the answer given to a former Magistrate when he argued that the alien usurper Maafu had been able to live to such a great age without succumbing to *vakadraudrau*.

Secondly, the performer must not break certain *tabu* (such as the eating of *matumatu* and *volo*).

Thirdly, there is a time limit of four nights, and the vessel that contains the charm may be discovered in time. Some unscrupulous natives make quite a good thing (until caught, for any dealing with *vakadraudrau* is a criminal offence) by pretending to discover *vakadraudrau* vessels by a superior magic; and only in 1914—while I was away on leave—the Commissioner acting for me convicted a man named Jonetani of this;

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Jonetani having earned princely fees (for a short time) by walking about and feeling "by a peculiar sensation of warmth to his feet" where charms had been buried under the houses of sick people —he having placed them there beforehand.

Lastly, there is the potable antidote, called either *vakadranu* or *vakasili*, which, if administered by one skilled in such magic, inevitably drives the *vakadraudrau* away.

It is only right that, as long as the superstition still remains among the people, transactions in magic of any kind should be dealt with in the criminal courts, as among a primitive people even the idea that some one might have *vakadraudrau'd* them may be enough to cause death by auto-suggestion. In fact, that is the most natural explanation of most of the deaths that have occurred. A man has probably been suffering from some mild illness, he gets the idea of *vakadraudrau* into his head (which his relatives do not by any means try to dispel), and it so preys upon him that he gives up "the wish to live," and turns his face to the wall and dies. For this reason people when convicted of these practices were, and still are, severely dealt with, even the milder law of to-day allowing a sentence of six months and twenty-four lashes.

Now, all the instances I have mentioned above occurred in northern Lau (in other words, those

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islands of the Lau group that are essentially "Fijianized" by conquest in ancient days by the fierce and swarthy semi-Papuan tribes from Cakaudrove—a section of Fiji). Among the fairer-skinned Polynesians, who people the rest of Lau, the practice was never carried on. And this again gives a very good example of the cast-iron bonds of "custom" among the South Sea races. All follow exactly the ways of their fathers; even in the gigantic upheaval of European civilization they only assimilated certain new European customs and ideas; but they seldom or never exchanged or appropriated the ideas of other South Seas peoples. Thus, among a confessedly superstitious race we practically never find *vakadraudrau* south of Lakeba Island; while the *Tuka* practices (another sort of magic, from the interior of Great Fiji) have never taken the slightest hold among the Lauans, though Lau was always the selected place to which the Government deported most of the professors of that cult; in fact, the last batch, exiled for five years, are still scattered through the different islands of the archipelago.

The general superstition of the people is very well shown by the Polynesian custom of *Yalovaki*, or soul-catching, which was a trial by ordeal, and largely practised in central Lau, and now superseded by *Regui Vola*. It is said that

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174 177 695 *Yalovaki* was brought from Samoa by a tribe now living on Lakeba Island, called the Leamaki; and "Tui Leamaki" is a hereditary title used to this day by the head of that tribe. But it is purely a Polynesian custom, and was probably used by the Lauans in their previous country, before they came "from the East"; though it may have been resuscitated by the Leamaki people.

695 The procedure was for a suspected person to be brought into the centre of a ring composed of a council of chiefs, when the professor of *Yalovaki* seated himself on the mat opposite "the defendant," and solemnly said to him, "Did you in very truth do this thing or not? If you lie concerning the matter, so will your soul be captured this day." He then took a filmy scarf of finest *tappa*, and, immediately the answer was given, he twirled it over the man's head, as the Polynesians throw a cast-net, and if the man had lied, his soul was believed to be snared within it. Which belief, if the man really *had* lied, so weighed on his mind that he often went mad.

177 627 [797] [201] [754] Now comes the modern equivalent of the practice. The missionaries rightly stopped the *Yalovaki*, so the people felt bound to provide some sort of substitute. They saw in the earliest law courts the foreign method of "kissing the book," which caught their fancy immensely; so to this day

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when there is an undetected crime, but especially when a man falls ill and declares that he must have been *vakadraudrau'd*, a secret meeting of the people is held, and all are more or less compelled to go through the *Yalovaki* practice, only *Regui Vola* ("smelling the Bible"—Polynesians do not kiss with their lips, they sniff with their nostrils) is used. This *compulsory* ordeal is not, of course, a thing to be approved of, and is not allowed, though only last year the *Roko* (native governor) of the Lau Islands wanted my permission to use it to detect witchcraft!

Various coincidences have much served to strengthen the people's belief in the efficacy of *Regui Vola*, especially the famous case of Emili (the sister of Luki, the great chief of Matuku Island), which, though it happened twenty years ago, is still talked about to this day. She was strongly suspected of having *vakadraudrau'd* to death her own brother; and on the day of his death she was made to *Regui Vola* by the native missionary in the presence of all the people, and she swore on oath that she might die if she had done this deed. She was then a young woman in perfect health. That afternoon she died!